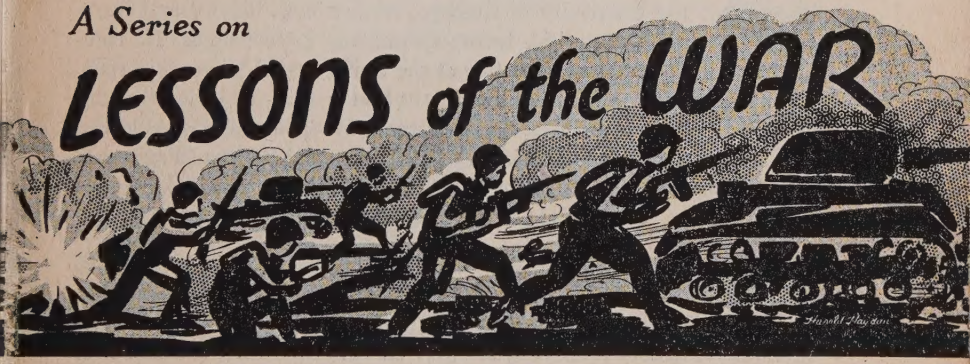
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ROUND TABLE

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

A Series on

LESSONS of the WAR



A Radio Discussion by CARL J. FRIEDRICH

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER *and* PRESTON W. SLOSSON

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Around the Round Table . . . .

CARL J. FRIEDRICH, professor of government and politics at Harvard University, is a lecturer in prominent forums and a contributor to leading journals, among which are *Harper's*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and the *Yale Review*. Born in Germany, he received his Ph.D. degree from the University of Heidelberg in 1925 and came to this country in 1926. In addition to his work at Harvard, he is a member of the Executive Committee of the Council for Democracy and is director of the Radiobroadcasting Research Project. His courses at Harvard include political theory, comparative institutions, communications and public opinion, and propaganda. He is the author of *Constitutional Government and Democracy* (1941); *The New Belief in the Common Man* (1942), and *Foreign Policy in the Making* (1938).

MAYNARD C. KRUEGER, assistant professor of economics at the University of Chicago, studied both history and international politics before specializing in economics. He completed his undergraduate education at the University of Missouri in 1926. After receiving his A.M. from that institution in 1927, he joined the staff of Albion College as an instructor in history. He spent three years in Europe studying at the universities of Paris, Berlin, and Geneva. From 1928 until he joined the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1932, he taught in the School of Finance and Commerce at the University of Pennsylvania.

PRESTON SLOSSON, professor of history at the University of Michigan, received his B.S., M.A., and Ph.D. degrees at Columbia University and was a member of Columbia's department of history from 1913 to 1917. In 1917 he became a member of the State Department and served in 1918–19 as assistant librarian for the American Commission To Negotiate Peace. Professor Slosson has acted both as editorial writer and as the literary editor of the *New York Independent*. He has been associated with the University of Michigan since 1921 and has been a visiting professor at various British universities, including the universities of Bristol, Manchester, Glasgow, and Sheffield. He is the author of *Fated or Free* (1914); *The Decline of the Chartist Movement* (1916); *Twentieth Century Europe* (1927); *The Problem of Austro-German Union* (1929); *The Great Crusade and After* (1930); *Europe since 1870* (1935); and *The Growth of European Civilization* (with A. E. R. Boak and A. Hyma) (1938).

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

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MR. KRUEGER: Mr. Willkie says that we have, during this war, learned something about America's place in the world. He says that we have learned that this is "one world." Do you agree with him?

MR. SLOSSON: I think that Mr. Willkie is completely right. In my boyhood it was Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in Eighty Days;* now it is sixty hours from any airport.

MR. FRIEDRICH: There is another very important factor to be considered. Our soldiers, serving all over the world, realize, more than anyone else, that this is one world. Millions of Americans are writing letters home. Millions of parents, sweethearts, brothers, and sisters are studying maps of lands of which they have never heard before. The war, in fact, is a great course in geography. It is one world for these people.

MR. KRUEGER: I am glad that this is a series of four discussions on the subject of the lessons of the war, so that we do not have to discuss the whole lesson of the war today. Our special concern today is America's place in the world. That is going to take us into three major phases of the problem. Let us have the first of those questions stated for us.

ANNOUNCER: ROUND TABLE *listeners ask: What are the chief lessons that Americans have learned about their relations with other countries? Is isolationism dead? Have we different attitudes today toward*

Russia, toward China, toward our own internal problems, from those which we had, say, three years ago?

MR. FRIEDRICH: It is hard to say whether isolationism is dead or not; but, if it is not dead, it certainly seems to be dying. We have the results of a poll, by the American Institute of Public Opinion, which tells the story. In October, 1937, Americans, when asked whether they favored the United States' being in a league of nations or not, answered as follows: 67 per cent said: "No, we do not want the United States in a league"; and 33 per cent said: "We do want the United States in a league." Today, the situation is almost completely reversed. Seventy-three per cent favor the United States' being in a league, and 27 per cent are opposed to it.

MR. KRUEGER: That is a complete shift, then, in a majority?

MR. FRIEDRICH: Yes, I would say so. But I do not know whether you could possibly deny that isolationism is dying in the face of these facts.

MR. KRUEGER: That depends on what you mean by "isolationism." I am afraid that the term has become a sort of a swearword in American political life, so that the people who are really isolationists in their opinions no longer dare to identify themselves as such. Thus the word becomes almost useless in the discussion of serious questions.

MR. SLOSSON: At least, these people do not use the word for themselves any more. They call themselves "nationalists" or something like that. But I think we can agree that the American people are more conscious of their power in the world. They are no longer so afraid of being outwitted by the wily diplomats of Europe—an

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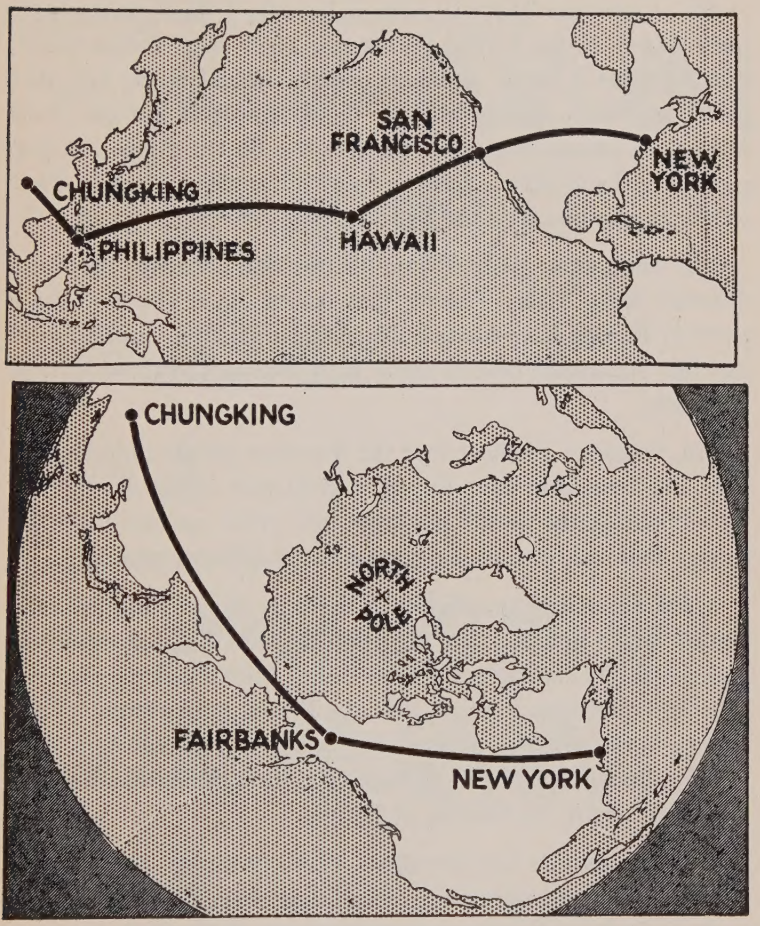
THE AIRPLANE CHANGES AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD*



Courtesy Consolidated Aircraft Corporation

* It takes at least a month by train and ship to go from New York to Chungking, China. The route, which is about 11,300 miles, is shown in the top map. By long-range plane, via Fairbanks, Alaska, Chungking lies only 7,500 miles, or 38 hours, from New York.

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example of the inferiority complex that played so great a part in keeping us out of the League of Nations in 1919.

MR. KRUEGER: There is every indication, I think, that people quite widely in the United States now know that Europe exists, that we have a lot of soldiers scattered around there, and that pretty soon they may be all over the continent of Europe. Very few people assume that after the war the United States will just pull out cold and have nothing to do with Europe any longer. That was a popular line after the last war.

MR. FRIEDRICH: At that time the question presented itself in a different form. Today I think that Americans realize that large parts of Europe have become dependent upon the United States and that Americans have to think what is needed in those parts of the world.

MR. SLOSSON: I believe that the American people consider that they will henceforth have to play a great part in the world. The term "policing the world" has come into pretty general favor, although that one word covers a great many different meanings.

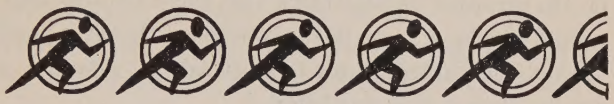
MR. KRUEGER: I am afraid that there are so many people in the United States now who are thoroughly aware of the existence of Europe and its dependency on the United States that too many of them interpret that to mean that the United States ought to run Europe in the post-war world. I doubt, however, if that is going to happen, because there are a couple or three other powers that are also interested in the running of Europe.

MR. FRIEDRICH: You are right. There is Russia, for example. It is an interesting question to view what change has taken place in the attitude of Americans toward Russia. Do we look upon her the way that we did three years ago?

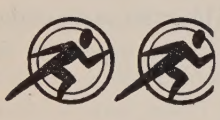
MR. KRUEGER: That depends upon whom you mean by "we." I think that there are a great many people in this country who as-

WHAT COUNTRY HAS DONE THE MOST TOWARD WINNING THE WAR?

RESPONSE IN THE UNITED STATES

U.S. 

RUSSIA

GREAT BRITAIN 

CHINA

RESPONSE IN GREAT BRITAIN

RUSSIA

GREAT BRITAIN

CHINA

U.S.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE
PICTOGRAPH BY Howard Haydon

EACH COMPLETE SYMBOL EQUALS 10 %

Source: Gallup Poll

sume that the United States will go ahead and fight Russia after getting through with the Germans. I think that there are some people in the Army, among high officers, who feel that way about it. On the other hand, I think that there are also large numbers of people who have come to the conclusion that it is possible for Russia and the United States to exist side by side in a world that is smaller than it ever was before.

MR. SLOSSON: I have found very few people, Krueger, who think of a future war with Russia as inevitable. Besides the distrust of communism, I think that there is some distrust of Russia as a dictatorship without the essential civil liberties as we understand them and some, also, of Russian imperialism, especially in the Baltic region.

MR. KRUEGER: That is a very healthy distrust of Russian imperialism, which is probably not properly called "imperialism," as well as a healthy distrust of dictatorship in the Soviet Union. But most of the suspicion of the Soviet comes from people who do not seem to be very much worried about dictatorship in either economic or political affairs at home.

MR. FRIEDRICH: All right. I think that we pretty nearly agree on the fact that there are differences of opinion in America. Yet we also agree that, as contrasted with three years ago, we all look upon Russia in a different way, each in his own particular partisan outlook. Now take Asia. We have had a similar striking change of attitude there.

MR. KRUEGER: Do you think so?

MR. FRIEDRICH: Yes, I feel that very strongly.

MR. KRUEGER: I do not think so. I do not think that very much has happened in that regard. It seems to me that this is still regarded as a white man's world by most people in this country and

that there is no general recognition that Asia has arrived as an independent area.

MR. FRIEDRICH: But look at the type of speech which was made by a leading American statesman: "Our Western world and our presumed supremacy are now on trial. Our boasting and our big talk leave Asia cold. Men and women in Russia and China and in the Middle East are conscious now of their own potential strength." Those are clear words that indicate that Americans now recognize a change.

MR. SLOSSON: Everywhere one hears people saying that the days of imperialism are over—referring to colonial imperialism.

MR. KRUEGER: I think, Friedrich, that those words which you quoted are quite correct, but I do not believe that most Americans are aware of them. Most Americans do not regard China, or the Chinese, as anything like equals; and the same thing applies to India and to Japan and to the Malay States. Most of us still consider that this is a white man's world.

MR. FRIEDRICH: I think that you are wrong. The Chinese are treated entirely differently today. Look at the movies. Movie-makers in America do not put people on the screen unless they think that Americans will recognize them. The Chinese today are treated as equals, even as heroes.

MR. SLOSSON: You might take it as the transition from the days of Fu Manchu to the days of Charlie Chan.

MR. KRUEGER: I am glad to see the Chinese appearing as something besides comic characters in the movies; but I would be far more impressed if they appeared as equals in the councils of the United Nations and in Washington. On the whole, the Chinese are doing better in the movies these days than they are in Washington.

MR. FRIEDRICH: You have to get a certain amount of recognition

culturally before you get the political effects of it. Look at the quoting of Chinese philosophy by Americans.

MR. SLOSSON: "Confucius say."

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, but that does not repeal the Oriental Exclusion Act. Apparently congressmen still think that they will get their necks chopped off at home in the next election if they go ahead to repeal this perpetual insult to the Orientals.

MR. FRIEDRICH: All right, but don't you think that three years ago the attitude was different from what it is today?

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, there has been some improvement in that, but no way near as much improvement as is indicated by saying that we in the United States recognize the quality of China as a power. That, I think, is a great exaggeration.

MR. SLOSSON: At all events, Krueger, you will admit, will you not, that China's prowess as a fighting ally has now been recognized?

MR. KRUEGER: Yes. But I am not at all sure that that is a hopeful sign. It is simply a continuation of the Western attitude of respect for military power. I do not want to see a situation in which the majority of the earth's population that is colored is taught that the only way they ever get any respect from the white section of the world is by building up their military power.

MR. SLOSSON: Is there an increased consciousness of the relation between American internal developments as affected by the war and these international decisions?

MR. FRIEDRICH: Decidedly. Take the dramatic developments connected with the war. The very outbreak of the European war, in no sense the making of Americans, showed the impact of external developments upon internal affairs. Roosevelt's re-election is by many people claimed to be entirely the result of the fact that there was a war on.

MR. SLOSSON: Even the first World War and a great depression had some effect. We picked up the great depression, and we saw on the bottom the trade-mark "Made in Europe." We no longer believe that we can have prosperity all to ourselves.

MR. KRUEGER: I think that that is a misunderstanding—that the depression was made in Europe. I believe that it came as near to being made in the United States. We are always inclined to blame such great unfortunate occurrences on the people of other countries. But it is true that people are more aware than they ever were before that what happens in other parts of the world affects internal affairs in the United States and that prosperity in the United States can no longer be based on the poverty of other parts of the world. There is an increasing number of people who believe that.

MR. FRIEDRICH: I think that we all agree on that. It therefore might be interesting to ask ourselves what all these observations add up to. What do they mean when one looks at them all together?

MR. SLOSSON: In summary we might say that in the first World War we regarded ourselves as voluntary participants. We took part in the war of our own free choice to help out Europe. Now, in this war, we feel the knife at our own throats. We regard ourselves as part of the world in the war—an important part—and as able to do a great deal in stabilizing conditions after the war.

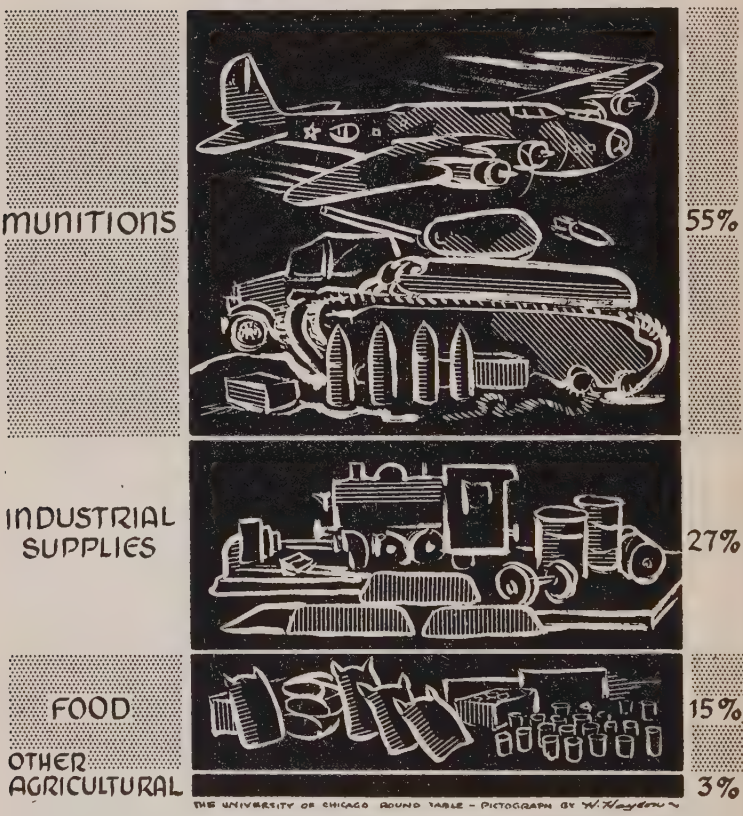
MR. KRUEGER: Let us now turn to the second question we want to go into.

ANNOUNCER: *Taking the assumption that Americans no longer fully believe that they can be isolated from the world, many* ROUND TABLE *listeners ask if Americans are aware what price must be paid for an enduring peace. What special responsibilities and sacrifices must Americans expect to bear? Will Americans really be willing to pay the price?*

MR. SLOSSON: A number of interesting points come in here. For

TOTAL UNITED STATES LEND-LEASE AID*

March, 1941—March 31, 1943



* Total goods transferred equaled $8,494,135,000, divided as follows: munitions, $4,685,425,000; industrial products, $2,253,609,000; food, $1,268,991,000; and other agricultural products, $286,110,000.

Food for the Soviet Army and the British production workers made up more than 90 per cent of the $1,268,991,000 of Lend-Lease food transferred to date. This year (1943) as much food will go to Russia as to Great Britain. Last year, Lend-Lease food shipments were about 6 per cent of the total food supply of the United States.

LEND-LEASE IN REVERSE

Source: Lend-Lease Administration

instance, have the American people realized what they may have to sacrifice for world stabilization?

MR. KRUEGER: The answer to that is clear, isn't it? The answer is "No."

MR. SLOSSON: No, I do not think that that is all the answer. Take, for instance, the very different attitude toward the repayment of Lend-Lease in this war and the repayment of the so-called "war debts" in the first World War. Undoubtedly, most Americans on both occasions thought we ought to be paid, but in the first World War we really expected to be paid and based our policies on that expectation. In this war we do not expect to be paid, and we turn the money into common stock, whether repaid or not.[1]

MR. KRUEGER: I take it you raise this question of the attitude toward repayment of Lend-Lease advances for a reason. It could be a good reason. Most of the people in this country are committed to participation in international organization; but most of the people in this country are also committed to the proposition that Britain and Russia, and, to a lesser extent, China, should repay all or part of those Lend-Lease obligations.

There are only 8 per cent, according to the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, of the people in this country who think that Britain should not be expected to repay any of the Lend-Lease advances. I know that that does not mean that they expect them to be repaid, but it means that the question is kept alive to ruin political relationships for years to come.

MR. FRIEDRICH: All right, Krueger, there may be that, but there is also a lot else. You quote that Public Opinion Research Center Poll, but let me quote another poll—the *Fortune* survey of June, 1943. That is fairly recent. They put this question to the American electorate: "After the war, do you think that we should or should not plan to help other nations get on their feet by sending them money and materials?" That is not merely repaying; it is actually sending money and materials for feeding and reconstruction. What do you think the answer was? A total of 72.8 per cent said:

[1] See cuts on pp. 10 and 11 for information on the extent of the present Lend-Lease program and for the amount of Lend-Lease "in reverse" which the United States has received.

"Yes, we should send money and materials." Only 19 per cent said we should not send such materials; and 8 thought that they did not know the answer. That, to me, is very encouraging. It is a straw in the wind, perhaps, and perhaps there is a good deal of confusion connected with it. Nevertheless, there is a clear commitment on the part of Americans behind the support of sacrifice.

MR. KRUEGER: At the same time that that commitment was being made—a commitment to the financing of feeding and reconstruction in Europe—the Ruml Tax Plan was passed. That is, the people who believe in American financing and feeding of people in the occupied and defeated countries also believe in lower taxes. That is just another illustration of the contradiction between the broad generalities that we believe in and our failure to implement them in terms of specific corollaries.[2]

MR. FRIEDRICH: I am not going to go into a discussion of the Ruml Plan here with you this afternoon. It is true, as I said in my book on foreign policy, that people always desire peace and always want the things that make for war. But I do believe that there is substantial progress here toward the realization. All my studies lead me to the belief that Americans have come to realize that they themselves have to do something to get that peace.

MR. SLOSSON: Americans have shown in the past that they grumble but that they always pay. As a matter of fact, we are sending aid to those who are still our insolvent debtors from the first World War, in spite of all the complaints we have made. But some other questions arise,[3] for example, the tariff question.

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[2] See A. G. Hart, Neil Jacoby, and Henry Simons, *Bigger and Better Taxes;* a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 259, broadcast March 7, 1943; and Garfield V. Cox, A. G. Hart, and George Stigler, *Are We Holding the Line?* a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 269, broadcast May 16, 1943, for further discussions of tax and inflation problems.

[3] For a discussion of America's foreign trade, tariffs, and the program of reciprocal trade treaties see Ralph E. Flanders, T. W. Schultz, and Jacob Viner,

MR. KRUEGER: The tariff still stands, and people's faith in the tariff still stands. I do not think there has been much of a quantitative change, according to the records I have seen, in people's belief that goods which compete with American goods should be kept out. That is a position in contradiction to the belief in the desirability of international organization. But I would hasten to add that, while quantitatively the popularity of the tariff holds up, it is the kind of popularity which could be shaken very substantially in a very short period of time by some spectacular events. Qualitatively, that faith has declined.

MR. FRIEDRICH: I agree with you, but I think that we also ought to recognize that there is bound to be a lot of argument and discussion. Let us not be perfectionists. After 1787 there also was a lot of argument and discussion, and it took people a long time to shake down to an ordered pattern of economic relationships.

MR. KRUEGER: I will let you warn me, Friedrich, not to be a perfectionist, if you will also let me warn you that if you are riding a democratic bicycle you have to ride it fast enough to stay on, or you will fall off.

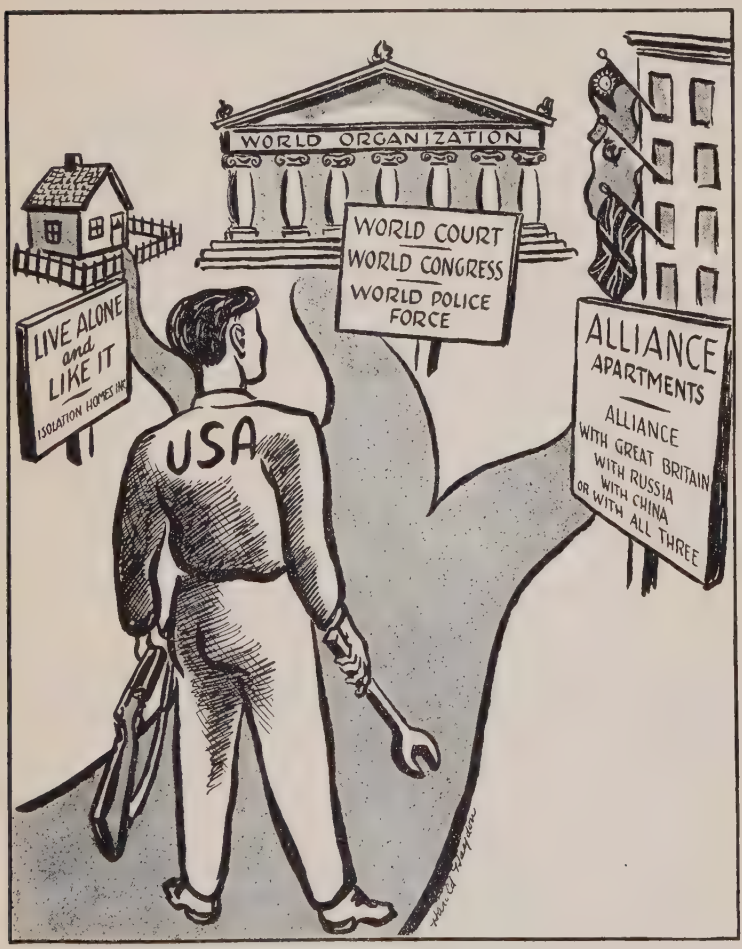
MR. SLOSSON: The chief difficulty, wouldn't you say, Krueger, is that it is easier for the American people, or perhaps for any people, to affirm some broad, humane generalization than to carry it out in detail where it affects their own specific interest? For instance, in almost any representative group of Americans you can get an affirmative vote on the idea that there should be greater freedom of trade in the world, but you cannot get through Congress a bill admitting Argentine beef in competition with Wyoming beef.

MR. KRUEGER: The same thing applies to immigration and to the movement of peoples. We are committed broadly to freedom of movement of peoples, but specifically we are not committed to that.

MR. FRIEDRICH: That, of course, is exactly the argument. Do

What about the Trade Agreements? a University of Chicago ROUND TABLE transcript, No. 265, broadcast April 18, 1943.

AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD?



the American people, or at least a majority of them, recognize the fact that we must forego some of our sovereignty, that this question of Argentine beef, maybe, should not be decided by the American Congress alone, and that we must accept a limitation on our sovereignty as was accepted in 1787 by the states on theirs?

MR. SLOSSON: That leads to the further question of whether it will be possible to maintain world peace without such severe limitations on sovereignty as go beyond American lines and include either a league of nations or even a federal union.

MR. FRIEDRICH: All right, but here is the question: Do Americans accept that limitation on sovereignty, or don't they? I maintain that they do.

MR. KRUEGER: In principle Americans accept the proposition that the problem has to be solved somehow. I do not think that they agree that sovereignty should be limited. But that is not a hopeless question, either. There are people committed to international organization—that, I think, is good in accordance with the facts of the world situation. The fact that they are not committed to the specific ways of implementing that commitment is not necessarily fatal, because I remember that as late as 1933 people were almost unanimously opposed to unemployment insurance in the United States.

MR. FRIEDRICH: What about the question of the world police force?

MR. KRUEGER: The world police force is, as an idea, generally accepted, but there, again, people are not committed to the specific implementation of it.

MR. SLOSSON: How would you summarize specifically what the American people must learn?

MR. FRIEDRICH: I don't know. I imagine that the most important thing for them to learn is that you cannot have your cake and eat it, too; if you want peace, you have to pay for it.

MR. KRUEGER: Let us come to the third of the major questions that we want to tackle.

ANNOUNCER: ROUND TABLE *listeners are concerned about what lessons of the war relating to America's place in the world we have*

not *learned. They also ask what lessons we must, or should, learn before we can expect to make our proper contribution to enduring peace for ourselves and for the rest of the world.*

Mr. Friedrich: To some extent the answer to this question is implied in some of our previous discussion. I think that it is pretty clear that Americans have not yet come to realize the intimate connection between foreign and domestic policy—the fact that you cannot decide upon immigration without its having an effect on your international relationships.

Mr. Slosson: In a way, domestic and foreign policy is altogether too closely tied up. For instance, it may very well happen that the domestic policy of the United States in the next generation will be decided by political conflict in the United States arising and fought almost entirely on domestic issues, as most of our elections have been.

Mr. Friedrich: Of course, in the past, foreign policy was powerful, but it is a recent development on the whole.

Mr. Krueger: You are both correct in saying that foreign policy and domestic policy are very closely tied together, but Slosson is also correct in saying that our political party system gets mixed up in campaigns in such a way that we do not ever get very clear decisions on any issue. I shudder with horror when I think of what is likely to happen in the 1944 campaign in view of the way it is shaping up now and in the way of discussion of the major political questions in the field of foreign policy.

Mr. Friedrich: Pardon me for interrupting, but take the thing that happened yesterday, or the day before, when a bunch of fellows went to Wendell Willkie to try to find out what he thought. He told them that he would not run if the party would not accept his one-world view with reference to American foreign policy.

Mr. Krueger: I should say more likely that he will not be nomi-

nated unless the people in the Republican party who disagree with him decide that he is the only man they can win with.

MR. SLOSSON: Isn't the danger rather that there may be nominated, in the name of keeping the party together, some candidate who has no avowed foreign policy at all?

MR. KRUEGER: That is what I would expect out of the traditional party system in the United States. That is the sort of thing it has produced for us before. It is very unfortunate that, at a time when we need thoroughgoing discussion of foreign policy, the political party machinery is most likely to give us a deadhead on the subject.

MR. FRIEDRICH: I think that discussion is taking place now. I live in a little New England town, which is full of Republicans, and there are ever so many among those folks who say today: "If the Republican party nominates an isolationist—a fellow who does not recognize that one world—why I shall be obliged to vote for Roosevelt, no matter how much I hate him."

MR. SLOSSON: It reminds me of the Maine farmer who was going to town. He said, "I'm going to town to get drunk, and gosh how I dread it!"

There are some other points that might be raised, however. For example, what is the American view of internal revolutions in other countries?

MR. KRUEGER: That is one of the matters on which we have not learned what we should have learned. People say that the United States has had its revolution—1776—and that other people ought to be satisfied with it. What we want now is quiet in other parts of the world. So, I'm afraid that a lot of people in this country will look on it with favor when the United States' armed forces and the British forces actually suppress in southern Europe the kind of popular and democratic and socialist revolutions that we ought to be looking on with favor.

MR. SLOSSON: But there is general applause in the United States whenever another dictator goes down or wherever a king gives place to a republic.

MR. FRIEDRICH: I wonder if that would be true if the overthrow should come from the Communists?

MR. KRUEGER: No, it probably would not be, although the overthrow is not going to come from the Communists in most places in Europe. The Russian regime itself is more interested in stability in western Europe than it is in getting a Communist regime there.

MR. FRIEDRICH: Maybe it is and maybe it isn't. There was a committee established in Moscow here a week or two ago that created a great deal of excitement in London and Washington.[4]

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[4] The Communist party paper, *Pravda*, devoted a full page on July 21, 1943, to an appeal to the German soldiers and people to overthrow Hitler, withdraw their armies to the "imperial borders," and to begin negotiations for peace, by which alone Germany's national existence can be preserved. The appeal was addressed in the name of the National Committee for Free Germany, which was established, it was revealed in *Pravda*, as a result of a meeting in Moscow on July 12–13 of Germans in the U.S.S.R. It was signed by thirty-three persons, which included representatives of German war prisoners held in Russia, as well as five former Reichstag deputies. This "manifesto" was embodied in the first issue of a new paper called *Free Germany*, which presumably will be handed to Nazi troops. It appealed to the soldiers at the front to preserve their arms and to turn them against the Hitler clique, which will lead Germany to national suicide. It argues that the deaths suffered in such a revolution will be fewer than those resulting from the continued Russian drive in the East and the United Nations' forces in the West. Once Hitler is overthrown, it asked for the establishment of "a strong democratic government" with none of the weaknesses of the Weimar Republic. The report called for the restoration of political and social rights, freedom of speech, of the press, of worship, the end of national and racial hatred, and return of property to its lawful possessors. It warns that outright military defeat of Germany will end its national existence. The appeal ends by saying: "Fight with all means. Refuse to obey Hitler. Those who, through fear, lack of spirit, or blind obedience, continue to serve Hitler behave as cowards and contribute to the national catastrophe that faces Germany" (*Chicago Daily News* dispatch from Moscow, July 21, 1943).

MR. SLOSSON: Moreover, you might say that a good many people think that communism would merely serve Germany right and they would be glad to see something like communism in Japan, as a proper punishment for our enemies.

MR. FRIEDRICH: That is the type of moralizing argument that does not make much difference. One further point that we have to get in here is that Americans have not learned yet that, if we want to play a role in the world, we have to play it according to the great game of politics. Krueger, you may not agree with that.

MR. KRUEGER: No, I do not mind agreeing with that, but I do not like to see us under the table, using American power to suppress the kind of revolutions that we ought to be supporting; and most of the revolutions in western Europe are going to be democratic kinds of revolutions and deserve our sympathy.

MR. SLOSSON: Would you say that there were any fascistic tendencies in the United States?

MR. KRUEGER: Yes, I think that there are. Certainly, the growth of racialism in the United States is evidence that we have not learned that racialism is a sign of fascism.

MR. SLOSSON: By "racialism" you mean what?

MR. KRUEGER: By "racialism" I mean the introduction into political life of distinctions between races.

MR. FRIEDRICH: Anti-Semitism is almost the clearest signpost of fascism in our own society, and it certainly has been on the rise in recent years. Even within the last few years there has been a distinct increase. The rumor clinics have found a lot of anti-Semitic rumors. That leads, really, to the question of what all this adds up to. Have Americans learned to pay the price, or have they not learned? Slosson, I think that you are inclined to the view that they have not learned to pay that price.

MR. SLOSSON: Not sufficiently.

MR. KRUEGER: I would agree, not sufficiently—hardly at all in fact. What that means is—if I may answer that by way of a general summary of this whole discussion—that the people in the United States have learned that this is, in a way, one world but they are not at all agreed on just how it is going to be operated as one world. A large proportion of the people are committed to the desirability of international organization and to full American participation in that international organization.

But on the question of who is going to pay the price we are not at all clear. We are not at all clear that we are going to have to pay a great deal of the price. We are not clear that we will have to change our minds on a great many questions in order to be able to live up to the declaration of intention to participate wholeheartedly in international organization.

In short, it is fair to say that Americans have learned that this is one world; have not learned whose world it is; have not learned how the United States of America fits into this one world. If an answer can be found to the question of America's place in the world, perhaps something will have been learned from two wars in one generation.

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What Do *You* Think?

1. In your opinion what are the lessons of the war with regard to America's place in the world? What has been learned about the causes and forces that have drawn America into two wars in one generation?
2. What is the attitude of people in your community now toward participation in some international organization after this war? What do they think of the Lend-Lease program and the various joint committees set up by the United Nations in wartime? Do you think they will want to continue this international collaboration when the war ends?
3. What policy do you advocate to keep the United States from being attacked or being involved in any future war? Should the United States join an international organization and accept full responsibility as a member-nation? Do you favor an international police force? What are the advantages and objections of setting up such a world organization?
4. What role should the United States play in carrying on programs of relief and rehabilitation of war-torn countries? Should this work be done through joint international or national agencies? Should rationing and high taxes be continued in the post-war period to make such relief work possible?
5. Looking back over the last twenty years, what do you think of high tariffs? What do people in your community and state think about them? What are the dangers and advantages of economic nationalism as practiced before the war? To what degree should barriers to international trade be lowered? Is free trade a desirable goal to be worked for?
6. What political dangers do you see, if any, in the political, financial, and military power which the United States will have in the post-war world? What are the dangers and advantages in the use of "The American Century" as a slogan for the United States?
7. What do you think of the proposal that the United States join with Britain, Russia, and China in forming an alliance? What are the advantages and disadvantages in having the United States participating in an alliance as compared to an inclusive League of Nations? What should be the objectives of American foreign policy?

More on This Topic

BINGHAM, ALFRED M., *United States of Europe.* New York: Sloan & Pearce, 1940. *Proposes a federation of Europe within a larger League of Nations.*

CORBETT, PERCY, *Post-war Worlds.* (Institute of Pacific Relations.) New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1942. *An analysis of the leading proposals, including those for world federation, with suggestions by the author.*

CULBERTSON, ELY, *The World Federation Plan.* 1608 East Sixty-second Street, New York, 1942. *A detailed plan for world federation.*

DOMAN, N., *The Coming Age of World Control.* New York: Harper, 1942. *Advocates a thoroughgoing political organization of the world.*

HOOVER, HERBERT, and GIBSON, HUGH, *The Problems of Lasting Peace.* New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1942. *Discusses various plans of federation but prefers a much looser world organization, with considerable autonomy for the great regions.*

LIPPMANN, WALTER, "U.S. Foreign Policy: Shield of the Republic," *Reader's Digest,* July, 1943. *Argues for a nuclear alliance of Britain, Russia, America, and, if possible, China.*

MERRIAM, CHARLES E., *The New Democracy and the New Despotism.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939. *A discussion of the basic political differences lying behind the war.*

PEFFER, NATHANIEL, "The Split in Our Foreign Policy," *Harper's,* August, 1943. *States the problem of democratic control of American foreign policy.*

RAPPARD, WILLIAM E., *The Quest for Peace since the World War.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. *A study of the League of Nations.*

STALEY, EUGENE, *World Economy in Transition.* New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1939. *World problems from the economic point of view.*

TAYLOR, HENRY J., "Boondoggling on a Global Basis," *Reader's Digest,* August, 1943. *Argues that a policy of exaggerated internationalism is as dangerous, foolhardy, and destructive as narrow isolationism.*

"The United States in a New World: Relations with Europe," *Fortune Supplement,* April, 1943. *Presents a possible European policy for Americans to consider.*

The People Say . . . .

The following letters are representative of the views expressed by the ROUND TABLE *audience on "The Liberation of Italy," broadcast August 1, 1943.*

*

Italy as a Unit?

With regard to your discussion this afternoon, the main criticism is that you considered Italy as a unit. Should Libya, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Vatican City and the old papal states, the Lombard plain, and the Tyrol necessarily be treated as such? I can imagine that much of Alpine Italy, certainly the Germans of the Italian Tyrol, would prefer to be put under the mandate of Switzerland. I am not sure that the inhabitants of the Lombard plain and the Sicilians would agree on the form of government. . . . . It seems to me that it is more important for us to insist upon certain individual and fundamental rights (like the Bill of Rights) and not to bite off more than we can chew in the way of forbidding revolutions or drawing boundaries. However, we might do a good deal by distributing food only to those who agree to settle controversies by some peaceful, judicial way. That is the way that we catch the colt—with a pan of oats. . . . .—*A listener from Cambridge, Massachusetts.*

*

Another *faux pas*

. . . . I wonder if interested members of our State Department heard what you had to say. They should. Their attitude to this and other questions is, of course, affected by certain practical considerations when it comes to action. They are well informed but do not always act with supreme intelligence. Witness, for example, the intransigeant attitude toward General De Gaulle, which the pressure of impending events may compel them to change in the near future. They would do well to find a face-saving formula right away, for they will need it. Let us hope that they do not make another *faux pas* like the one at the time of the Spanish revolution in their dealings with Italy. . . . .—*A listener from Melrose, Massachusetts.*

*

Do We Really Want Democracy?

After listening to your broadcast this morning in which all the speakers seem to argue that we, the Allies, should establish a "democratic form of government" in Italy and other countries which we hope to wrest from the Axis powers, the thought came to me that we should have many discussions on just what a democratic form of government is. I listened to Mr. Henry Wallace, last Sunday, in a splendid

speech in which he said that this is the century of the common man. The rest of this week in newspapers and over the radio he has been branded for such utterances as being a fascist along with President Roosevelt and the New Deal social reforms. It is confusing to us Americans and must be deadly to the Axis-held countries. Perhaps, after all, it isn't democracy that we want, if the mere thought of the century of the common man causes such consternation in a democratic country.—*A listener from Los Angeles, California.*

*

Premise

It seemed to a group of us listening to the ROUND TABLE discussion on August 1 that your speculations *re* the Italian government-to-be were based upon the premise that fascism was (probably) out, but that the only thing worse than that and, therefore, unthinkable, was communism.

Now fascism has been clearly demonstrated to be a threat to humanity, and we feel wholehearted in our support of this war. But communism, where it has been chosen by a people, has proved itself anything but a menace to either those people or to us. . . .—*A listener from Los Angeles, California.*

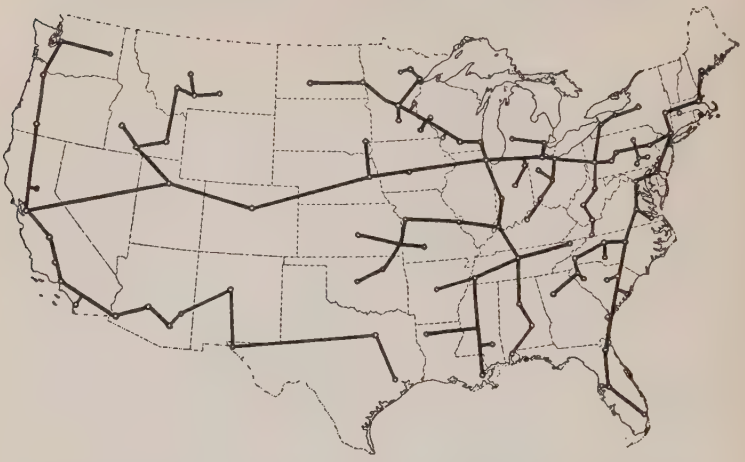
*

What Is the Explanation?

Your questions and answers are very illuminating. My question is: Why is fascism so evil in Italy that we will destroy Italy rather than allow it to remain and *yet* why is fascism allowed at the same time in Spain and in some South American countries? Why is totalitarianism allowed and fostered in Russia, a dictatorship allowed in Turkey, Greece and so on? I assume that there is an explanation to this, and I would like to know it. Also why is Mussolini the worst criminal in the world with his Matteoti and castor-oil murders, and Stalin a perfect gentleman to be treated with gloves but who has quite a bloody pathway behind him?

I like Stalin, I confess, and I don't like Mussolini; but I like above all a sense of justice and an approach to this war that is not hysterical and dictated by a sense of great moral superiority.—*A listener from Seaside Park, New Jersey.*

THE ROUND TABLE NETWORK



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2:00 P.M. EASTERN WAR TIME

City	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1470	Martinsville, Va.	WMVA	1450
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1340	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1400	New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	750	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	790
Bluefield, W.Va.	WHIS	1440	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1060
Boston, Mass.	WBZ	1030	Pittsburgh, Pa.	KDKA	1020
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1250	Portland, Me.	WCSH	970
Charleston, W.Va.	WGKV	1490	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	920
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1240	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WLW	700	Reading, Pa.	WEEU	850
Clarksburg, W.Va.	WBLK	1400	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1380
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1100	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1180
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1340
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	950	Springfield, Mass.	WBZA	1030
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1230	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1340
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1300	Syracuse, N.Y.	WSYR	570
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1330	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	970
Greenwood, S.C.	WCRS	1450	Toledo, Ohio	WSPD	740
Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	930	Washington, D.C.	WRC	980
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1400	Williamsport, Pa.	WRAK	1400
Harrisburg, Pa.	WKBO	1230	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1150
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1340	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	600
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1240	York, Pa.	WORK	1350

1:00 P.M. CENTRAL WAR TIME

City	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	960	Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	970
Bismark, N.D.	KFYR	550	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1310
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1230
Dallas, Texas	WFAA	820	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	790
Des Moines, Iowa	WHO	1040	Mobile, Ala.	WALA	1410
Duluth, Minn., and Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1320	Montgomery, Ala.	WSFA	1440
Eau Claire, Wis.	WEAU	1070	Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
El Paso, Texas	KSTM	1380	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1350
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	1280	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	930
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	970	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WOWO	1190	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1340
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1400	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1450
Hibbing, Minn.	WMFG	1240	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1480
Houston, Texas	KPRC	950	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1140
Indianapolis, Ind.	WIRE	1430	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1260
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1400	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1170
La Crosse, Wis.	WKBH	1410	Virginia, Minn.	WHLB	1400
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	920	Wichita, Kan.	KANS	1240

12:00 M. MOUNTAIN WAR TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	770	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	790	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	930
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1380	Safford, Ariz.	KGLU	1450
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1450	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1370	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	850	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1270
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1240	Yuma, Ariz.	KYUM	1240

11:00 A.M. PACIFIC WAR TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1410	Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1530
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	950
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1440	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620			

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Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1230	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Minneapolis, Minn.	WLB	770	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	810

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